

## Message Text

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53

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 112030

O P 011545Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 090

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

USLOSACLANT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

S E C R E T ROME 7694

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, IT

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY ITALIAN VIEWS ON U.S. MBFR POSITION

REF: STATE 146712

1. MFA OFFICER (COUNSELOR LUIGI FONTANA GIUSTI) PRINCIPALLY  
RESPONSIBLE FOR MBFR MATTERS, NOW THAT PETRIGNANI HAS  
SECRET

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ASSUMED POST OF DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO PRIME MINISTER, SHARED  
WITH EMBOFF JULY 31 FOREIGN OFFICE DRAFT TELEGRAM TO ITS NATO  
MISSION OUTLINING PRELIMINARY ITALIAN VIEWS ON THE U.S. MBFR  
POSITION. IF APPROVED BY HIGHER ECHELONS IN MINISTRY, TELE-

GRAM WOULD INSTRUCT NATO DELEGATION TO EXPRESS A POSITIVE ITALIAN REACTION TO OUR POSITION, NOTING THAT THE COMMON CEILING APPROACH HAD ALWAYS BEEN PREFERRED BY THE ITALIANS AND THAT THE MELDING OF THE THREE OPTIONS OUTLINED IN OUR APRIL 30 PAPER SHOULD BE MORE ATTRACTIVE TO OTHER ALLIANCE PORTIONS THAN ANY OF THE THREE SINGLY. THE MESSAGES WOULD ALSO EXPRESS PLEASURE OVER THE DELIBERATE VAGUENESS OF THE SPECIFICS OF PHASE TWO IN OUR PAPER, AND SPECIFICALLY THAT WE CHOSE NOT TO SINGLE OUT THE INDIGENOUS FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S QUERIES, FONTANA GIUSTI EXPRESSED ITALIAN AGREEMENT WITH OUR POSITION THAT EASTERN AGREEMENT TO OUR PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES SHOULD NOT BE A PRECONDITION TO NEGOTIATING REDUCTIONS. REGARDING THE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION, FONTANA GIUSTI SAID THIS REQUIRED A GOOD DEAL MORE STUDY BUT THAT AS DESIRABLE AS PHYSICAL ON-SITE INSPECTION MIGHT BE, IT SIMPLY WOULD NOT BE REALISTIC TO EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO AGREE TO IT GIVEN THEIR CONSISTENT STAND ON THE ISSUE OVER THE PAST DECADE.

2. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, FONTANA GIUSTI SAID THE ITALIANS AGREED WITH THE BRITISH THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT BE IN A HURRY TO PRESENT THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING PROGRAM TO THE EAST AND THAT SOME TIME BE DEVOTED TO EXPLORING THE OTHER SIDE'S THINKING. (EMBOFF TOOK THE OCCASION TO OUTLINE THE CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION IN THE U.S. AND THE TIMING IMPERATIVES IT CREATED FOR MEANINGFUL PROGRESS ON THE MBFR FRONT.) HE ALSO EXPRESSED SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT GIVING ANY INDICATION TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD COMPLETE MOVEMENT TO THE OVERALL MBFR GOAL OF A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES IN THE GUIDELINES AREA. HE SAID PHASE TWO SHOULD BE LEFT COMPLETELY OPEN IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAT HOLDING OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS WILL INCREASE THE DOMESTIC PRESSURES FOR SUCH REDUCTIONS WHEN IN REALITY THE REDUCTIONS MIGHT BE MORE SYMBOLIC THAN ANYTHING ELSE.

3. FONTANA GIUSTI SAID OUR WILLINGNESS TO BRING U.S. NUCLEAR ELEMENTS TO BEAR IN SUPPORT OF OUR FIRST-PHASE REDUCTION GOAL ALSO GAVE SOME DIFFICULTY TO THE ITALIANS WHO HAS FELT THAT THE APPROPRI-  
SECRET

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ATE FORUM FOR ANY FBS NEGOTIATIONS WAS THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION SEGMENT OF SALT. HE ALSO ADDED THAT THE ITALIAN DEFENSE MINISTRY WOULD NOT BE ESPECIALLY HAPPY ABOUT THE INCLUSION OF F-4'S. AND, FINALLY, HE WONDERED ALOUD WHAT IMPACT INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN AN AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE ON BRITISH FBS'S. VOLPE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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**To:** STATE INFO SECDEF  
NATO  
ANKARA  
ATHENS  
BONN  
BRUSSELS  
COPENHAGEN

THE HAGUE  
LISBON  
LONDON  
LUXEMBOURG  
OSLO  
OTTAWA  
PARIS  
REYKJAVIK  
USNMR SHAPE  
USDOCOSOUTH  
PRIORITY  
USCINCEUR  
GENEVA

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